THE ADDRES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS TO THE KING

Dup P 24
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FEB 22 1916
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By the Rector, Vice-Chancellor, Heads of the Colledges, Deans of Faculties, and the rest of the Masters and Professors of the University of St. *Andrews*, whose Names are insert at the end of their Addres;

ALSO,

A Letter from the Arch-Bishops, and Bishops, to the Kings most Excellent Majesty,

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The Rector, Vice-Chancellour, heads of the Colledges, Deans of Faculties and the rest of the Masters and Professors of the University of
St. ANDREWS.

FEB 22 1918

To the KING.

SIR;

THE Universities and Seminaries of Learning have so great and peculiar a share in the happy consequence of the publick peace and Tranquillity, not only their flourishing and increase, and your life and being, have such a singular Dependance on the Supream Authority, that it cannot be justly either vanity or flattery when they endeavour to make their Gratitude as remarkable as their Advantages and Obligation; And we in this place do humbly offer to your *Majesty* at this time, our most dutiful sense and acknowledgments of the security, Peace, and Quiet we enjoy under the Wisdom and Paternal care of your Gracious and Happy Government.

It was King *James* the first of that name, that founded this University the first in this Kingdom, and gave us these priviledges and immunities, which have been continued and enlarged by his Royal Successors; And we find by the frequent and signal marks of your Majesties Princely care and concern for us, that you inherit with the Crown and Dignity of your Ancestors the affection they bore to this University: And as we reflect on this gracious Tract of the Royal Favour to us, with the most grateful remembrance; so we cannot but also glory, that from the just notions of our duty and happiness we have at all occasions, and in the face of what ever hazards mantained an immoveable and affectionat Loyalty to the Government and adherance to the Royal Family.

When by a happy providence this Nation was honored & refreshed with your Royal presence, we chearfully concurred in the Laud and Lively Joy and Acclamations of all Ranks of people in the univer-

ſal Admiration of your Vertues that were ſo eminent, that your Enemies finding nothing elſe were forced to make Objections of them, and with our moſt ardent and ſincere wiſhes, for your coming to the peaceable poſſeſſion of the Throne and Empyre, to which (after your Royal Brother whom we ever remember with due reverence and honour) the Laws of GOD, of Nature, and of theſe Kingdoms had eſtabliſhed your Right.

And we owe the moſt profound and thankful Reverence to Heaven, which has been ſo favourable to the wiſhes of honeſt hearts, that we have a Prince of the Native and Royal Blood, to reign over us, who has given the moſt ſincere and ſolid demonſtrations of his love to theſe Kingdoms, by encounting the greateſt hazards for their Honour and Safety, who hath filled the World with the great and immortal Fame of his ſingular Accompliſhments in all the Acts and weighty concerns both of War and Peace, who ſucceeding to that Gentle Innate Goodneſs, which has been very remarkable in his predeceſſors of this Royal Family, and having got (while he went himſelf through the roughest and moſt hazardous conditions of a Subject) a moſt tender ſenſe and feeling of our infirmities, does by the admirable effect of an incomparable Clemency, to whatſoever offenders in principles or practices give the greateſt aſſurance of his being utterly averſe from the leaſt violence or ſeverity, even to the worſt of his Enemies, until it be extorted from his Royal Juſtice, and Magnanimity by obſtinate and inſufferable abuſes of his Benignity and Goodneſs; ſo that we cannot fancie what more is requiſite to the full and ſolid happineſs of people, but our juſt ſenſe of what we enjoy, and our firm relyance on your Majeſties faithfulneſs and generoſity to preſerve it inviolable.

And we are ſure that your Majeſties loving Subjects who in the eye of the World, and the midſt not only of the noiſe and clamour of your Enemies, but alſo of your own reaſonable expectations, peaceably ſubmitted themſelves to your juſt poſſeſſion of your Crown, and Dominion, with ſolemn expreſſions of the greateſt joy and ſatisfaction, will never be guilty of a Levity, ſo abſurdly inconſequential to ſuffer themſelves to be diverted from their love and obedience, until they have ſhaken off all Tyes and Principles as well of Honour as of Duty.

The ſad experience of our late Miſeries and convulſions has left

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us ſufficient marks and indications what rocks to ſhune; and has ſo diſgraced the Artifice and Deluſion of fears and jealouſies, that till we have loſt our Memories with our Judgements, it cannot be expected that the moſt Vulgar credulity can be wrought by that impoſture. Theſe alone were the noyſome Vapours raiſed by wickedneſs and ambition; and gathered into theſe clouds which darkned the Wiſdom and Glory of theſe Kingdoms, and ended in that fatal and dreadful ſtorm, which brought upon us all the heavy diſmal calamities of Blood & Confuſion. The pretended Fears of Arbitrary Government made us fight our ſelves Slaves to Arbitrary violence and oppreſſion, jealouſies created by malice, or blind and ſick imaginations of the hazard and change of Religion, produced the higheſt contempt of all that is Sacred, baniſhed all the vital and eſſential Characters of our peaceable and humble and moſt holy Faith, raiſed the moſt execrable Villanes on the ruines of One of the beſt and moſt Religious Kings, and made theſe Kingdoms the ſchene of the moſt attrocious Villanies, and moſt diſhonourable monſtruous barbarities that Hell could conſpire. And it is morally impoſſible Men can ever be ſure of any better conſequence then diſorder and certain ruine from ſuch corrupt and dangerous cauſes, thoſe Viſions and Phantaſtick creatures of Sedition and Diſtempered Minds.

Great Sir, We hope that this ſure and laſting Wiſdom which comes from the Obſervation of former misfortunes, that the Sacred tyes of our Religion and Reaſon with the love of our trueſt intereſt will for ever produce the juſt and peaceable effects in the minds and endeavours of all your loving Subjects, and particularly of the Societies of Learning and Education who by their profeſſions and opportunities are the Searchers of Truth, and are ſo cloſly knit to the publick ſafety, that in the time of inteſtine commotions they periſh, or are overcomed with Ignorance and barbarities, and who therefore are guilty of an inexcuſable neglect and ingratitude, if they ſlight or abuſe the Advantages they have of knowing and propagating the reaſonable principles of Love and Obedience to your Majeſties ſacred perſon and Authority.

The fundamental Rights of Government and Supremacy are ſo ſtronge and plain in Reaſon, and Divine Revelation, that they need not the weak and indecent aſſiſtance of Flattery, to ſupport or magnifie them; They are alſo ſo Equable and Conſtant, and hold ſo

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unexchangeable under all lawful Soveraignes, never altering with Times and Circumstances, and with all are of so great and general importance, that it can never be unreasonable, and so often necessary for honest Men to Declare and Assert them, and there may be as much indutyful malignity in affected and disintended silence, as in malicious Grievances and Clamour.

Sir. For these and the like considerations, it appears to us, your Majesties Servants, in this your Ancient and Honourable University, a necessary part of our dutv, humbly to beg your Majesties pardon, and allowance, that we publish and Declare to the World, these clear distinct and certain Verities, which exact and deliberate Examination has fixed in our minds, concerning the Natural and perpetual Foundations of Society, Government, and Subjection, & we reduce them shortly to these plain Proposals & Observations

First, As the Being, Nature, and whole Perfection of Mankind, are from GOD the Infinitely Perfect Being, and the Supream Author of all things; so there are some certain and fixed Methods and Means by which He will have these preserved, and which He has given us sufficient light to discover, and therefore whatsoever means are thus found to be absolutely requisite, for the Being and preservation of Mankind, are for that reason of Divine Right, and Original, and are the Ordinance of GOD.

Secondly, Of such means it is evident that Society, and consequently Government, are the chiefest, for besides that, the natural Order in which GOD has designed the preservation of Mankind, is by the Posterity and Succession of one Generation to another, which it is hard to conceive possible, without Society the infirmities of Humane Nature, and the necessities of our Life, are such, that there are many things without which we cannot live; Which, nevertheless, no Man that is alone and separate from all others, can procure to himself. And as the Author of our Being, hath made this Society so necessar for preserving us, He has also in several respects fitted us for it, by implanting in our Nature a strong inclination to preserve our selves; and in our Posterity an earnest desire of Knowledge and Information, (not to speak of the appetite of some) and which is most remarkable by affording us these Organs and Instruments of speech & Conversation, from all which put together, it is that the generality of Philosophers, and Wryters concerning Government in all Ages, having called Man a Sociable Creature.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, And as Mankind cannot subsist without Society, so neither can Society without Government, this is not only true in the matter of fact, and certain experience of all the World; but who ever considers humane nature, will necessarly see that it most be so. And that as man is partly fit, he is also partly unfit for Society, if every one were left to his own Liberty and Government; the furious vehemency of contrare passions, the indelible love and esteem of our selves above others: the unbanded desires of many towards the same things, the weakness and pusilaminity of some compared with the strength and ability of others; should produce nothing better then unavoidable violence, rapine, fear, murder, and dissolation: The very Speculative Supposition of which state illuminates us fully to understand the absolute necessity & unspeakable usefulness of a power and authority, Superiour to every man and every faction of men, in the Society which may constitute and regulate every Mans Rights, Circumscribe the Licentious Extensions of mens Passions, and desires to defend the Weak from the Injuries and Invasions of the Stronger, punish the Transgressors of these Bands set on them. And in a word, may deliberate and do what ever may Contribute to the good and security of the whole Society, and of the whole parts of it, and it is the Power we call Government or Soveraignity.

Fourthly, As any Society should quickly be destroyed, if every man in it were his own ablolute Governour, the same Reasons demonstrate, that in one and the same Society, there cannot be a Plurality of distinct and Co-ordinate Governments for the ends above mentioned. For these should be as absurd lie lyable to the same inconveniencies, if not more and greater and as unpracticable as the single Governments of every Man by himself: and tho in every well ordered Society, their may and must be for the conveniencies both of the Soveraign and the Subject some Inferiour subordinate Powers, yet all these (that there be not a confused and endless Series of Subordination) most originally derive their being and duration from one that is Supream, and seeing there can be no Society preserved, unless every man have his own will in it, and pleasure absolutely subjected to be Governed and Regulated by the Supreme and Soveraign, in all things which concern him, as a Member of that civil Corporation, then who ever goes about to plead Immunity from this Universal and Absolute Subjection,

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does upon the matter pleaſe the Society to be diſſolved, and ſo mankind to be deſtroyed, and conſequently he is to be conſidered as an enemy to Mankind, from all which it follows by the cleareſt light of Reaſon, that the Government and Soveraignity of every formed State, and civil Society, is in its nature *One indiviſible Supreme* and *Abſolute*.

Fifthly, There is nothing ſerves more to free us of the prejudices that ariſe in the Ignorant, or Inadvertent from the ſound of theſe Words, then diſtinctly to reflect and conſider, that this Supremacie of which we ſpeak, has been and is actually in all conſtituted Societies whatſoever: The diſtinctions of Monarchical and Popular Authority, are not from the Nature of the Power it ſelf, but from the diverſities of the form, Subject or adminiſtration of it. The bigot *Re-publicans* cannot deny, but that the Plurality of Governours, or the Major part of them, in the Ancient *Athenian*, or ſuch other popular Eſtates, were all as Supream, Abſolute and incontrollable, as the *Perſian*, *Aſſyrian*, or whatſoever other Monarchie in the World; and every ſingle *Athenian* as Abſolutly ſubject as any ſingle Perſon or other *Aſiatick*. So that the Liberty of the Subject, is a meer empty name to amuſe and delude the Turbulent and Unthinking Rable: and they needed no leſs then the higheſt Airie flouriſhes of the *Roman* or *Grecian* Rhetorick (which was ordinarly imployed in managnifing themſelves in every thing above all the World) to ſet of ſo manifeſt a contradiction, and who ever ſeriouſly conſiders the ſubſtantial grounds of all the unhappy contentions that have been in the World about Government, ſhall find that too many among them who know what they ſay, the queſtion is not if there is, or moſt be a Supreme and abſolute Authority in every State, and civil Society; for that as it is neceſſary and unavoidable, ſo it is highly convenient, but in whoſe hands the Supremacie is (which is a thing the Seditious ever Labour to perplex and obſcure) or with whom it may be left intruſted whither with one, or with a multitude, or Plurality, which are the differences of Form, we are in the natural Order to compare and examine in this place, it is fit to obſerve, that not only is the Supreme Power (as hath been ſaid) in it's own nature, *One* and *Indiviſible*, but in all States and civil Societies, it is lodged in one Perſon, either in a Natural or Moral ſenſe: For even in the more Popular parts, theſe many who are ſaid to have a ſhare in the Go-

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vernment, have this power properly Lodged in them (according to the principles of the highſt *Republicans*) no otherwayes then as they are Morally, Civilly, or Virtually one, that is, as they aggree in one Mind, Will, or Determination. And therefore when we ſpeak of Government in the general, they as well as *Monarchs*, they may be called by one ſingle Name the *Soveraign*.

Sixthly, We do the more fully comprehend the Nature of the *Supreme* Power and *Soveraignity*, by taking a diſtinct view of ſome of the moſt Conſiderable and Eſſential things that belong to it. And firſt, whoever has the *Supreme* Authority, is the Author and Fountain of all Civil Law and Juſtice: For to have the truſt and care of preſerving the Unity and Peace and Society of the whole and every part of the Society neceſſarly includes a Power of deliberating, and judging what is fitteſt for theſe ends, of preſcribing theſe Rules, Meaſures, and directions, by which the Subjects (whoſe Wills as to theſe things that concern the Society, are ſubmitted to the Supreme) are in their ſeveral Capacities to Regulat their Actions, as alſo of fortefying theſe Laws againſt all contempt and diſobedience, and of puniſhing the Tranſgreſſors; ſeeing the moſt perfect Laws without being armed with the Coactive Strength and Authority ſhould be Naked, Ridiculous, and Ineffectual: And whoever is the Supreme giver of the Laws, is for the ſame Reaſons Veſted with a Power to Interpret, Correct and change them as neceſſitie requires; Strict Riged, and Litteral Laws, is the Severeſt and Bloodieſt Maſter in the World: And therefore it belongs to the Supreme Power (in which is the Paternal care of the Subject) to Interpret and Mitigate the ſeverity of the Law, or ſuſpend its Execution, as may beſt aggree with the end of the publick ſafety, and the wholſome intention of all Laws whatſoever: The perpetual multitude of new Actions, and qualities of Actions, which cannot be foreſeen: is ſo vaſt, that no Laws can be made ſo general, and extenſive as expreſly to comprehend them, and therefore it belongs to the Univerſal truſt & care of the Supreme Power; there immediatly, or by inferior deputed Judges and Miniſtrators, not only to declare theſe Actions about which the Laws were directly intended, but alſo to apply the general and material Juſtice of the Laws; to the varieties of Actions and Emergencies, which they cannot explicitly comprehend, the condition of Humane Affairs, the Tempers and Inclinations of the People, the means of advancing the moſt general eaſe and conveniences of the Government, and the Subject

care remarkably Various & Mutable; not only in different Nations and Societies, but at different times in one and the same; Therefore the wiſeſt and celebrated Law Givers have acknowledged that their Laws were not the beſt they could have framed, but only the beſt the condition of their People could bear at the time of their making; and were therefore, with the alteration of their condition and circumſtances to be Rectified or Improven: Yea, even theſe Laws which the *Sacred Hiſtory* tells us, were conveyed by *Moſes* from GOD himſelf to the *Jewiſh Nation*, cannot be ſaid to be the moſt compleat and perfect Directions that could be given to Mankind: otherways all the World, at leaſt ſuch as heard of them, ſhould indiſpenſably be oblidged to their Obſervation, but their perfection conſiſted in their being Proportionated and adopted to the Capacity, Temper, and Circumſtances of that Rude, Ignorant, Superſtitious, Unthankful and Senſual People, for whoſe Benefit they were given. Aand when the Obſervation of theſe Laws and Ceremonies were deſigned, to ſeparate and diſtinguiſh from the Luxurious and corrupted Nations. And ſo for the alteration of Times and Circumſtances, and the Diminution of the Hazards againſt which they were intended: Some of the moſt Conſiderable of them, were innocently diſpenſed with, and is continued: and at laſt, the whole or Generality abrogated and louſed their Obligation from all which it is evident, that generally ſpeaking an immutable Humane Law, is an abſurdity or contradiction, and when ever former Laws and Conſtitutions appear to the Supreme Power, (who is the only Judge in ſuch Caſes) to fail of their Subſerviencie to the more general Happineſs and Conveniencies of the Society; the Soveraign has not only unqueſtionable Right, but is found by the nature of ſupream Power and Truſt, which is from the Gracious and the bountiful Governour of the World, to Alter, Correct, or Abrogate them as may be moſt expedient. *2dly.* The Soveraign to whom belongs the Care, not only of the Internal Order and Happineſs of the Society, but alſo of the ſecuring of it from External Violence, and preſerving its Ballance and Proportion with the Neighbouring States and Societies, has the undoubted power of making War and Peace; and conſequently of the raiſing and diſpoſing of Forces, making Confederacies, ſending Ambaſſadours, keeping Correſpondences, and preſcribing the neceſſar Expences, affoorded by the Subjects, for theſe and other Neceſſities of the Government; and for the ſupporting the Strength, Honour and

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Intereſt of the Nation. 3*dly*. And it belongs to the Soveraign only, (in whom is the Supremacie and Original Jurisdiction, and whoſe it is to Judge of the Qulifications and Fitneſs of ſuch as may be imployed in any inferiour Adminiſtration) to Errect and Regulate the Freedoms and Priviledges of all inferiour Corporations, to Conſtitute *Magiſtrates*, to Appoint and Nominate all publick Miniſters, Officers of State, Judges, Counſellours; and in a word, all that ſerve in any Publick Civil Truſt, & Capacity whatſoever.

Seventhly, Theſe are the Foundamental and Vital *Prerogatives* of Government and Supremacy, to which all the other Particulars by Conſequence and Connexion are eaſily Reduceable: And now from what has been ſaid in the General concern of Government, the inference is Natural and Obvious, that whoſoever murmurs againſt the Being or Exerciſe of the Supream Authority, who abſurdly pretends to limit it, for ſome ſeeming preſent advantage endeavour to incroach upon the *Prerogative* of the rightful Soveraign, is guilty not only of the greateſt wickedneſs, by contemning the Power, and reſiſting the *Ordinance of God*, but alſo of the greateſt Folly, by doing what in him lyes, to ſubvert the Foundations of all Peace and Tranquillity, and to ſhake and unſettle that *ſureſt Rock* on which his own, and his poſterities perpetual ſecurity and happineſs is built.

Eightly, As to the different Forms of Government, it may be obſerved: firſt, that ſeeing no man denyes, but that it is poſſible in any Society, to have it ſufficiently known, and publickly acknowledged, what is their form of Government, or in whoſe hands the Soveraignity is Lodged; it is certain that that Society, is in ſo far the happieſt of all others in which this is moſt Diſtinctly and Univerſally known. 2*dly*. When we are inquiring into the beſt form of Government, is not to be expected that any one can be found which is abſolutly perfect, for in this our frame and imperfect State, it is impoſſible to find any humane Adminiſtration that is attended with no inconveniencie or imperfection, but by the moſt perfect Government in this State of things, we are to underſtand that which is lyable to the feweſt inconveniencies, and from which the moſt advantage and the more ſolid, and permanent can be juſtly expected to the Society.

Ninthly, And ſo, tho we are not raſhly or dogmaticaly, to condemn the ancient and eſtabliſhed Government of any Nation by which

it has enjoyed its security, yet we cannot be so blind, as not to understand that of all the several forms of Government which the witt or subtility of man can imagine the *Monarchical*, that is, where the Soveraignty is lodged in one single person, in the natural sense is evidently lyable to the fewest and smallest inconveniencies and is most exactly proportionated for the attaining and preserving the Peace and Security, and all the other ends of Society and Government, when we consider; first, that it is the most natural Being, the Modal and Draught of the Paternal or Patriarchicall Power, from which it has its Original. In the constituted Order of the World, Men are not dropt down from the clouds, but Born and Educated in some Family, and Society, which thing is enough to destroy the vain pretence of the natural Liberty, and equality of all men, from the subjection of the Children to their Parents, from whom they have their Being & by whom they are Preserved and Educated, is so clear *by the light of Nature*, and has been so universally acknowledged by all Nations and People; that it were but a loss of time to prove it in the particulars. And it being also certain from the most Ancient Authors that all the Primitive Governours were *Paternal* and *Monarchical*; Kingdoms then being nothing else but larger, and more extended Families has given occasion to the later Authors to observe, that all Governments by *plurality*, as they are in themselves unnatural, so they appear from the Historie to have had their Beginning from some *odd and mutable change*, or from most unjust *usurpation* and *violence*. But then, 2*dly*, not to insist in resembling *Monarchy* to the *Supreame Providence* and Government of the World, or in illustrating the Argument of most part of all *Divines*, to prove the *unity of the Deitie* from *Its Being*, unconceiveable, how there can be two or moe supream Governours of all things; there seems to be in all *pluralities* of *Humane Governours* a fatal necessity and perpetual natural occasion of Faction and Division, things directly opposite to all the good Designs of Laws, Government and Society, it being next too impossible, but that among many equal sharers of Authority, there will be always some who are acted by partial Interest, some by Ambition, and the Emolation of their Rivals, some by a vanity of shewing their Parts, some by an uneasie pride and singularity, and tho there were no thing else, the diversity of Opinions which is unavoidable, is able to produce Jealousies, Envy, and Animosities; and these are able to weaken, embroyl, or disturb any Society. 3*dly*, In a plurality any

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one that is disaffected to a Design, if he have lense or a *little popularity*, can create more difficulties and delayes then many are able to answer or overcome; & the just opportunity of doing *publick affairs* are often lost by their contentions & *tedious consultations*, and even when they come to a conclusion, it happens frequently that (as some of the *Ancients* were wont to rail the *Athenian Councils*,) tho wise men consult and deliberat, fools and mad men determine. *4bly*, In a multitude of Governours the publick is neglected frequently, whiles any single man thinks himself but little concerned, and that he will be blamed for the Errors of the Government; and these who are more active, and have been esteemed the wisest men in such Governments, have alwayes endeavoured to gain Reputation to their Councils, by being supported by the popular favour: And by what mean and unworthy Arts that is procured, and when attainted, how light and inconstant it is all the World knows. *5ly*, Secrecie which is a thing undoubtedly requisite, for the safety and expedition of publick Councils, is very rare, and almost impossible in a *Plurality*. *6ly*, A *Monarchical Government*, because it is free of these, and the like heavy inconveniencies, because it is easier to find a good and wiseman, then many, because the Vulgar which is always the greatest part of any *multitude* or *plurality*, is ever ignorant, rash, and untractable, and because of the manifold advantages of this Government, it has been always thought in all Ages and Nations, absolutely necessar in Armies; and the same reasons hold as naturaly, and clearly in *Civil Societies*. And therefore it is no wonder that *Monarchs* have been more solid, and permanent, and of far longer duration then *Popular Governments*, and their Subjects more universally pleased under the exercise of their Authority.

Tenthly, That those inconveniencies of Government by plurality are not airly speculations will be clear to any who seriously considers the miserable face of that *Republick*, which by the Admirers of Popular Government was set up as the greatest beloved Idol, for when we see that after the most unjust expulsion of the *Roman Kings*, the *Consuls* usurped their *Authority*, and carried it higher than ever they did, that the *Tribunies* these *Incendiaries of the Rable*, when they had got their Being, and a little footing, managed a continual design, sparing no *Artifice* or violence to diminish the *consular Authority*, as being to *Arbitrary* and *Tyrannical*; and to get it into their own

hands

hands (in which they became by desires more and more successful) on pretence of giving it to the People, that during the more seemingly Popular form of Government, never were their greater roarings and complaints of Oppression, in any state of the World, that the constant Dissentions betwixt the Nobility and the People produced perpetual Tumults, where the Streets were filled with the Blood and Gore of their Citizens, and all places with the sad Calamities of Civil War and Confusion. And when we consider that in all their greatest hazards and difficulties, they were found to run to the expedient of a *Monarchical Dictator*; And that (as all their Authors Confesses) they had been at last utterly destroyed and sunk under their civil Calamities, if they had not again fallen under a lasting *Monarchical Government*: These are sufficient demonstrations, when People Sacrilegiously encroach on the Right of their lawful Superiours. It is hard for them ever to fix on any thing of solid duration, that the famous *Roman Libertie*, was properly but an Impunity for cutting one anothers Throats, that Faction and Disorder, which all the wisdom & strength of that people could not prevent, all the natural effects of such Governments; and that the happiness of a State consists, not in the Greatness and Extent of its Bounds and Empire, but in its Internal order and Tranquillity.

Eleventhly, As to the great publick inconveniencies of a *Monarchs* turning a Tyrant. It is observable, First, That the marks of a Tyrant are so variously and dubiously given by the enemies of Monarchy, that it is very hard for the most Ingenious, much more for the Vulgar to determine, where any Governour deserves this odious Character. 2*dly*, If every man would industriously imploy himself in the proper business of his own calling and capacity, there would be little time and less occasion, for these unprofitable Inquiries into the Councils and Actions of *Princes*; which of necessity, must be kept more close and mysterious then these of private men: And yet we see how lyable these are to be often and greatly misrepresented. 3*dly*, Tho there is no shadow of true reason, to imagine that *Monarchs* are accomptable to their Subjects for their Administration, which is an Errour no less absurd (an accomptable *Monarch*, being an inferior Supreme,) then it is pernicious both in Government and Religion; Yet Princes cannot but remember, that as Subjects are accountable to their Soveraign, and Superior: So Monarchs are to theirs, the Great GOD and Go-

Governour of the World, by whom Kings reign; and against whom only they sin. 4*ly*, We cannot fancy very few Monarchs so void of common sense, as not to understand that their Honour and safty does depend on the happiness and prosperity of their Subjects, so it is next too impossible that they can design their general hurt and oppression. 5*ly*, When some Severities actually happen which are generally lookt upon as excesses of Government, they are never so heavy in Nature, nor so Universal in their Extent and Duration, as the dreadful Calamities of *Civil War*, which is the common cause of the frailtie and mortality of *Empires*; and which is thus always so unluckie as to produce the same, and more, and greater Evils then are pretended to be feared or suffered from the Lawful Superior; and whoever by his fears, discontents, and grievances, will needs disturb the Government or would circumscribe it must asurdly suspect himself to a power which he must acknowledge, to be greater, otherways he cannot dream how he can set Limits to the former. But lastly, which is a sufficient answer, when it is asked what if a Monarch abuse the Power, neglect the dictates, or Laws of his Kingdom; we ask the enemies of Monarchie, what if in their forms of Government, the Major part or Respresentatives and Trusties of the People do the same? If they say, that these can be resisted or judged by the rest, then it seems very evident, that there can be no Government at all, or at least none that can be promised to be of a weeks continuance, if these cannot be justly opposed or resisted, then it is clear that the difficultie proposed, is at least equal in all forms of Government; but that it is greater on the *Re-publicans* side, we are able to bring from impartial History, many more example of Popular Governments, generaly vitiated, or in which avaritious, irreligious, and licentious Men, have had the whole swey, then can be produced of wicked Monarchs: And this one matter of Fact being true, is enough to destroy all the empty Objections of the Enemies of Monarchie; as to that case of the Alteration of Civil Laws, besides that these have no force, nor obligation, but what they intirely derive from the Soveraign. And we are by all the Rules of Discretion and Charity, to suppose that when ever there happens any change in any of them, it is intended for the better, and for the more general convenience, of which the Soveraign always is Judge; who ever thinks the perpetuity of Laws an advantage to a State or Society, most have the less esteem of Popular Government, when after examination ye

shall

ſhall find that never was there a greater number of partial and ridiculous conſtitutions, never more frequent abrogations, viciſſitudes, and changes of Laws, then in the *Roman*, *Athenian*, and ſuch other Republicks, which has given occaſion to that remark of ſome Lawyers: That any conſiderable alteration in the Civil Laws cannot be expected in Monarchies, in leſs then the Revolution of 30 years, generally ſpeaking, but in the Popular Governments, with every Callends of *January*.

Twelfthly, From what has been ſaid in the general concerning Monarchy it is eaſie to obſerve, that theſe Monarchies are moſt perfect which are *Hereditary*, Being in their Nature, of the moſt equable Stability, for ſeeing every Succeſſor in ſuch a Series, has a full right to the intire Soveraignity: This Right can never preſcribe or be diminiſhed. And tho the Wiſdom of the moſt Abſolute Monarchies, is in all Ages, thought to uſe ſeveral Methods and Forms of Conſulting their Subjects in the great and weighty Affairs of the Government, yet no Conceſſion whatſoever to ſubjects, no cuſtom be it never ſo long of imploying them, or any number of them, for private or more ſolemn Counſels, or in adminiſtration of Juſtice, can Alienat any part, or making any ſhares of the Supreme Authority, the Society may alſo Reaſonably expect the greateſt care and ſincereſt love from *Hereditary Princes*, who conſidering the Government and Society, as their Property and Inheritance will watch over it, with the more dilligent and circumſpect exactneſs, that they may tranſmit it in the more ſecure and flouriſhing condition to their poſterity.

Thirteenthly, And now in the laſt place, what is the fixed and eſtabliſhed Government of this ancient Kingdom, we cannot explain or aſſert in words more clear and comprehenſive then theſe. In which at ſeveral times and different occaſions, the Subjects of this Realm have ſolemnly ſworn, either inviolable fidelity and allegiance, and in which the Repreſentatives of the Body of this Nation, in their moſt ſolemn and lawful Convocations, have openly declared to the World the unqueſtionable Rights of this *Monarchical Government*; in theſe it is ſolemnly owned and acknowledged, (for Subjects give no Prerogative but aſſert them) in ſeveral publick Oaths and Declarations, that the Kings Majeſty is the alone Supreme Governour of this Kingdom, and above all Perſons in it whatſomever; that he is a free Prince of a Soveraign Power, having

ing as great Liberties and Prerogatives as any other King, Prince, or Potentate whatsomever; that his Majesty is a Soveraign Monarch, Absolute Prince, Judge and Governour over all Persons, Estates and Causes, in this Realm: That the Kings sacred Majesty and his Heirs, and Successors, for ever, hold the Royal Power from *God Almighty* over this Kingdom. And that there are great Obligations from the Laws of GOD, the Laws of Nations, the Municipal Laws of the Land, and Oath of Allegiance to maintain and defend the Soveraign Power and Authoritie of the Kings *Majesty*, and that sad consequences do accompany any incroachments upon or diminitions thereof; they acknowledge the great happiness that this Kingdom hath for many Ages enjoyed under the Princely Government of their Royal Kings, who by the special blessing of *Almighty God* have reigned over them, in so long and unparalelled a Series of Royal Discents, and the Obligations thereby lying on them in Conscience, Honour and Gratitude, to own and assert the *Royal Prerogatives* of the Imperial Crown of this Kingdom, which the Kings Majesty holds from *God Almighty* alone; and to vindicate the same from all Invasions made upon it, that all Government and Jurisdiction within his Majesties Ancient Kingdom, does Originally recide in his Sacred Majestys Lawful Heirs & Successors, and it being impossible to invent any surer way of knowing the Government of any Kingdom, who e're *impartially* considers these with many such other Declarations, whereof, some have been made when any doubt arose concerning any particular of the Royal Prerogatives; and some after a sad experience of the fatal consequences of Sacrilegious Invasions upon them, and all to express the publick sense of the Nation, concerning the rights of their Sacred Soveraign: Who ever, take notice, that our Kings have ever been the Fountain of Civil Justice, making Laws of Universal unquestioned Obligation on all the Subjects; sometimes by themselves alone, sometime by the Advice and consent of their *Barrons*; sometimes of their *Earls*; sometimes of their *Prelats*; and sometimes of their *Representatives* of the Generality of their Subjects, which have been assembled by their Authority; and are in these Laws frequently called their great Council or Parliament. And in a Word, who ever considers the whole threed of our free and unbayssed History, cannot but be convinced, how clear and certain it is (if it be possible for words clearly to express any thing) That this ancient Gover-

vernment is properly *Monarchical.* And that in the Sacred Person of our King is lodged, the *Supreme Power* and *Authority*; with all these inviolable Rights and Prerogatives, which belongs to the intire *Soveraignity.*

Fourtenthly, In *Buchannan* (who has been justly called a reproach, as well as any Ornament of our Country,) we admire the empty loosnes of his reasoning, no less then we do the purity of his *Latine*, his frothie Dialogue, is an instance how farr Malice, Passion, and mistaken interest, can lead men out of the common Rod of sense and reason; his Characters of a King, and of a Tyrant, are so Chimerical and Imaginarie, and with all, so nyce and positive, that according to his discriptions, there were never King or Tyrant in the World. But in short, if his intended paralel of a King and Physician, be in many things impertinent, if it be inconsistant that his King be sometimes the perfectest thing in the World, or otherways to be resisted or expelled, and sometimes very imperfect, that he may get Laws to govern him, just as the *Latine*, and the *Rapture* takes the Author, if he is blindly in Love with the word *Laws*, without considering the thing who shall make them; if it do not follow that because some Kings have been Ill men, therefore there should be no King: Or if the same reason hold in the *Popular Government*, and if there have been at least as many and great corruptions in *Popular Governments* as in *Monarchies*, which are things any can demonstrate, who are not strangers to Reason and History: Then all these *Rhetorical Florishes* which makes up this *Authors* Book about Government, (which hath abused some whose considerations go not beyond the surfice of things,) do conclude nothing but that if he had bestowed a little of that time which he spent in acquiring of *Language*, on the study either of *Law* or *Geometry*, he might have Learned to pursue this malicious design, a little more closly, while as now he hath only made it appear that he was capable to write a Play, but not either Law or Reason concerning Government.

SIR, These Assertions and Observations are owned by the whole Body of this Universitie, since they seem to be founded on clear Methodical and Permanent Reasons. If they do not displease your *Majestie*, we shall be carefull to insert them in our most Solemn Records, to remain as a perpetual Monument of the unalterable Principles of this *Society*.

We

We do not offer to your *Majesty*, without the special Approbation of the most *Reverend Chancellor* of this University, the great and happy Influence of whole Example and Council, on the *Loyalty* & Order of this Place, is suitable to the greatness of his Trust & Interest in it: We shall rejoyce in our happiness, if what we have said, can do any service to Dissipate the clouds of Ignorance or Prejudice, that are on the minds of any who have not leasure or advantages of long and Laborious Inquiries, into the Reasonable Foundation of their Allegience; there being nothing dearer to us, then the Fidelity and Affection we bear to the most Ancient and Royal *Government* of this Kingdom, and to your *Majesties sacred Person*, who is the breath of our Nostirls, and who has been graciously pleased, to take the State of your Universities among the first and principal Concerns of Your Government, and who, we do not doubt, will continue, to confirm and enlarge with Your Empire the Learned Glory of Your Kingdoms. And we dare with the sincerest boldness of our honest Hearts, assure Your *Majesty*, that the just and never unfashionable Notions of our Duty, with the intire Trust and Confidence, we repose in Your *Majesty*, shall ever preserve us from being diverted, or frighted from our Love and Obedience, and shall excite from Your *Majesty*, and Kingdoms happiness, the perpetual Prayers of, &c.

Signed by

Arthur Arch-bishop, *Chancellor*
Alexander Skeen Vice-chancellor
Richard Waddel Arch-deacon
James Lorimer D. D.
Charles Kinnaird
John Menzies
Alexander Skeen
Patrick Megill
William Comery
James Ross
John Monro.
} All Regents.

A LETTER

From the Arch-bishops and Bishops, to the King's most Excellent *Majesty*.

May it please Your most Sacred *Majesty*,

WE *prostrate our selves to pay our most Devoute Thanks and Adoration to the Soveraign Majesty of Heaven and Earth, for preserving Your Sacred Life and Person, so frequently exposed to the greatest hazards, and as often delivered,*

delivered, and you miraculously prospered with Glory and Victory, in the Defence of the Rights and Honour of Your Majesties August Brother, and of these Kingdoms; and that by his Merciful Goodness, the Ragings of the Sea, and madness of unreasonable Men, have been stilled and calmed; Your Majesty as the Darling of Heaven, peaceably seated on the Thrones of Your Royal Ancestors, whose Long, Illustrious, and Unparallelled Line, is the greatest glory of this Your Ancient Kingdom.

We pay our most humble gratitude to Your Majesty, for the Repeating Assurances of Your Royal Protection to our National Church and Religion, as the Laws have Established them; Which are very suitable to the Gracious Countenance, Encouragement and protection, Your Majesty was pleased to afford to our Church and Order, whilst we were happy in Your presence amongst us.

We Magnifie the Divine Mercy in blessing Your Majesty with a SON, and us with a PRINCE, whom we pray Heaven may bless and preserve to sway Your Royal Scepters after you, and that he may Inherit with Your Dominions, the Illustrious and Heroick Vertues of his August and most Serene parents.

We are amazed to hear of the Danger of an Invasion from Holland, *which excites our prayers for an universal repentance to all Orders of Men, that God may yet spare his people, preserve your Royal person, and prevent the Effusion of Christian Bloods, and to give such success to your Majesties Arms, that all who Invade your Majesties Just and Undoubted Rights, and Disturb or interrupt the peace of your Realms, may be Disappointed and clothed with shame, so that on your Royal Head the Crown may still flourish.*

As by the Grace of God we shall preserve in our selves a firm and unshaken Loyalty, so we shall be careful and zealous to promote in all your Subjects: an Intemerable and stedfast Allegiance to your Majesty, as an Essential Part of their Religion, and of the Glory of our Holy profession; not doubting but that God in his great mercy, who hath so often preserved and delivered your Majesty, will still preserve and deliver You by giving You the Hearts of your Subjects, and the Necks of your Enemies. So pray we, who in all Humility, are,

May it please your most Sacred Majesty, *your Majesties most Humble, most Faithful, and most Obedient Subjects and Servants,*

Edinburgh.
Nov. 3. 1688.

Signed by

Arch: St: And:	Jo: Galloviden:	Will: Moravien:	Ro: Dumblanen:
Jo: Glasgow.	Jo: Dunkelden:	Ja: Rossen:	Arch: Soderen:
Alexr: Edinburgen:	Geo: Abredonen:	Ja: Brechen:	And: Orcaden:

FINIS.